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Hamas suicide bomber kills 18 in Jerusalem

Peres: We are at war with Hamas

PRIME Minister Shimon Peres declared that Israel is at war with Hamas, following yesterday's deadly suicide bus attack in Jerusalem.

A Hamas suicide bomber blew up a No. 18 Egged bus on Jaffa Road in Jerusalem yesterday morning, killing 18 and seriously wounding seven, exactly a week after another suicide bomber took 25 lives on the same line.

An angry Peres listed new security measures to be enacted, and declared his commitment to "separation" between Israeli and Palestinian peoples. (See story below).

The bomb was similar to the ones used in last week's attacks in Jerusalem and Ashkelon, a senior police source said.

"The evidence points to the same hand being involved in all the attacks," the source said. In all the attacks, 15 kg-20 kg. of TNT were used and metal scraps, in yesterday's case nails, were included in the bomb to make it more deadly.

Jerusalem police chief Arye Amit confirmed there were similarities among the bombs. Amit, whose office at the Russian Compound police station is only several dozen meters from the scene of attack, said he arrived to find "bodies strewn all over."

Four people in serious and two



Security and medical personnel run for help immediately following yesterday's deadly bus bombing. (Brian Hendler)

in very serious condition were taken by Magen David Adom ambulances to Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Kerem. One seriously wounded person was reportedly taken to Shaare Zedek Hospital.

The explosion ripped apart the bus at about 6:25 a.m., as it was about 20 meters from the intersection of Jaffa Road and Shlomzion Hamalka and Cheshin streets, with the bus continuing to skid forward until coming to a halt in the intersection.

The explosion left the bus a burnt out shell. The roof and most of the sides were gone, as were most of the seats. Bodies were strewn on top of each other in what remained, and later placed in plastic bags and taken to the National Forensics Institute at Abu Kabir for identification.

Police sources said the terrorist was apparently sitting in either the middle or back of the bus. Nineteen bodies were discovered in the rubble, including that of the terrorist, said Jerusalem police spokesman Shmuel Ben-Ruby.

Buildings near the blast site were damaged, some badly. Most of the area windows were broken, awnings and blinds destroyed.

Bodies were flung into the air, and glass flew everywhere," he said. "The rescue work was finished within minutes," Amit said.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres came to the scene about two hours after the attack to see the devastation first-hand. There were a few anti-government calls from the crowd during the short briefing Peres received from Amit and Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz.

Amit and Hefetz later met with Peres at the Prime Minister's Office, where they discussed the government's planned security moves, including beefing up police and army presence in the capital.

There were brief pushing and shoving matches between police and the crowd of several hundreds onlookers, including many who openly expressed their outrage by chanting "Death to Arabs," and "Peres go home."

Amit said police were bracing for demonstrations and possible attempts by Jewish extremists to carry out revenge attacks on Arabs. Dozens of protesters chanting "Death to Arabs" rushed toward the Old City in the afternoon, but were halted by police.

Mayor Ehud Olmert called for restraint from the crowd. "I understand that people are angry, but this type of behavior is not helpful at this time. It only makes the work of the security forces that much more difficult. The security problems did not begin this morning. We must remember this."

Olmert convened an emergency session of the city council in the afternoon. About half an hour after the bombing, an anonymous caller to Israel Radio's Arabic service claimed responsibility for the attack in the name of Hamas.

Herb Keinson contributed to this report.

Peres: Peace process hangs on PA crackdown

DAVID MAKOVSKY

FOLLOWING yesterday's suicide bus bombing, Prime Minister Shimon Peres warned Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat that the future of the peace process hangs in the balance if he does not crack down on Hamas.

He told reporters that if the other side does not keep its commitments, Israel cannot be counted on to adhere to its own. "It cannot be unilateral," he said.

The IDF is slated to redeploy from Hebron at the end of this month. When asked, he said as the situation stands now, he "saw no point" in beginning talks on the final disposition of territories unless the PA gets tough with terrorists.

Furthermore, an angry Peres listed new security measures to be enacted, and declared his commitment to "separation" between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

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AGAIN. It's the nightmare that we don't wake up from. The corpses. The body parts. The blood. The screams. The agony.

Two teenage girls disregard her, and -swaying back and forth with eyes closed and fists clenched - continue chanting psalms. "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses, but we mention the name of the Lord our God. They are bowed down and fallen, but we are risen, and stand upright."

Shirabi, a middle-aged mother, works herself into a frenzy. She looks as if she is going to faint, and police quickly come to offer her water, take her from the site, calm her down.

Among the other security steps taken by the cabinet: the deployment of 1,200 extra policemen in Jerusalem, and the stationing 300 guards to ride buses or be positioned at bus stops in the city. Despite the opposition of Meretz ministers, it was decided to seal and destroy the homes of relatives of suicide bombers.

Peres said he was declaring war on Hamas, but at the same time, made it clear that a major share of the fighting should be done by the P.A. "We all agree to uproot this organization to the foundations. We will not shy from any measure. We will spare no effort. We decided to give this war the highest and most unequivocal priority - all that we have in men, ideas, and means."

Peres emphatically called upon Arafat to hunt down the Hamas killers, ban the Izzadin Kassam organization, and disarm those who

'The nightmare that we don't wake up from'

HERB KEINON

"I wish I was 80 and single," she says. "I would drive a truck full of explosives into them and show them how it feels."

Someone nearby starts to chant "Baruch Goldstein, Baruch Goldstein."

Hundreds of people congregate throughout the day at the intersection where Jaffa Road, Rehov Shlomzion Hamalka and Rehov Cheshin all meet - the city's newest horror site. At times, they sing "Am Yisrael Hai." At times, they chant "Revenge, revenge."

The scene is surrealistic. Blood mingles with water to create colorful prisms. Haremum with orange vests over black garb are lifted by crane to scrape pieces of flesh off building facades. The windows of cafes are blasted out, whipped-cream filled pastries sitting among shards of glass.

"Unfortunately the branch is closed, please go to the central branch on Hillel Street," reads a handwritten sign on the door of the First International Bank at the corner where the bus came to a stop. The bank's windows are blown out.

For about three hours after the blast, the crowd is kept behind police barricades, and stares at the carnage from a distance. A steady rain does not keep people away.

When the barricades are opened, people rush to the scene.

wanting to see with their own eyes the remnants of the horror. The sound of crunching glass is everywhere. A municipal worker dumps shovel after shovel of glass into a huge trash bin.

The police apparently realizes it made a mistake by opening the barricades, and begins to push people onto the sidewalks. One man is arrested. When the crowds see him being taken away, they rush the police, screaming that the police should be arresting Arabs, not Jews.

"Please move onto the sidewalk, you are getting in the way of the cleanup efforts," an officer shouts from a megaphone. No one moves.

"We will not move out of the center of the streets," a man yells at a police officer. "The blood in the streets is still warm, it is screaming at us to do something."

"What we need is Sabra and Shatilla," another man shouts. A few teenagers begin chanting "Peres the Nazi, Peres the Nazi."

"There need to be two people checking every bus," says Hannah Avraham, looking for someone to talk to. Then she changes her tune. "People should help each other out, should give each other rides in their cars."

Avraham immigrated two years ago from Poland, via Germany. "I didn't come here to die," she says. "I have a place to go back to, but how about everybody else?"

Judy Bernstein, of Har Nof, says she could not stay at home after she heard about the blast. "I

can't function. I can't do laundry. I had to be here with the people." "This is Rabin's legacy," interrupts Benny Perez, of East Talpott. "I told my wife not to go to work today, that there was going to be another attack. I knew it. What kind of life is this?"

- The victims The following are the names of those killed in yesterday's Jerusalem bus bombing: Sgt. Yoni Levy 21, of Jerusalem; Sgt. Haim Amedi, 19, of Jerusalem; Senior NCO Uzi Cohen, 34, a border policeman from Jerusalem; George Yonan, 38, of Jerusalem; Maya Birkan, 59, of Jerusalem; Sarina Angel, 45, of Beit Jalla; Naima Zargary, 66, of Jerusalem; Gavriel Shamshevili, 43, of Jerusalem; Shemtov Sheikh, 63, of Jerusalem; Anna (Ora) Shingeloff, 36, of Jerusalem; Raya Daushvili, 55, of Jerusalem; Stephans Gidoi, 23, a tourist from Ethiopia; Valerian Krasyon, 44, a tourist from Romania; Romanian workers: Dominic Lunca, 29; Daniel Patenka, 33; Marian Grefan, 40; Mirze Giffa, 39; Dimritru Kokarascu, 43. One body was as yet unidentified, apparently that of the suicide bomber. (Itim)

'Hamas network in Jerusalem aided suicide bombers'

STEVE RODAN and BILL HUTMAN

HAMAS has restored its terrorist network in Jerusalem and its members are believed to have provided support for the two suicide bombings in the capital over the last eight days, security sources said yesterday.

The sources said that only weeks after the capture of a Hamas cell responsible for the planning of several bus bombings, including that in Ramot Eshkol last year, the organization has rebuilt its terrorist network in eastern Jerusalem.

The sources said, probably provided the suicide bombers with last-minute instructions, intelligence and even the explosives necessary for the attacks.

The sources said the alleged mastermind of the latest wave of suicide bombings, Mochya Eddin A-Sharif, has made his home in the eastern Jerusalem neighborhood of Beit Hanina. He also attended Abu Dis College, regarded as a hotbed of Islamic militancy.

Security sources said Hamas enjoys widespread support in eastern Jerusalem, and unlike in the territories, its political leaders often coordinate with Fatah activists and those aligned with the Palestinian Authority.

Security officials have long argued over the best way to minimize Hamas's influence in Jerusalem. Some of them, particularly in the General Security Service, have argued for close coordination with the Palestinian Authority as well as ensuring open access to Islamic holy places to reduce unrest. Other officials, particularly in the police, have urged a crackdown on what they call the network of schools, charities and clergy that form the backbone of the organization's support system.

Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert also charged yesterday that the Hamas infrastructure exists in eastern Jerusalem, with

the full knowledge of the government. Olmert was not referring specifically to Hamas terror infrastructure, but to an array of allegedly Hamas-affiliated welfare, education, and social organizations.

Olmert raised the matter of these institutions, which are used by Hamas to increase Palestinian public support for the organization, in his meeting after the attack with Prime Minister Shimon Peres, sources close to the mayor said.

Among the organizations named by Olmert were the Central Islamic Welfare Organization, Islamic Science and Technology Association, and the Islamic religion faculties of AJ-Kuds University.

Advertisement for 'The Jerusalem Post' featuring various services like 'LEATHER', 'JUND THE WORLD', and 'opedias, on your ROM.'



Knesset Speaker Shevah Weiss gives blood yesterday in Jerusalem after the bus bombing. (Issac Harari)

Public rushes to give blood

OVER 1,800 residents donated blood at Magen David Adom stations in the main cities by mid-afternoon after learning that the Jerusalem terrorist blast had claimed so many victims. MDA had to supply only 200 pints to the capital's hospitals yesterday, but the rest were used to resupply the blood bank, whose stores had been seriously depleted by terror attacks and road accidents in the area during the past week. At the Jerusalem MDA station, hundreds of would-be donors lined up. Many underwent blood pressure tests and stood on the queue for as long as two hours before their turn came. "I was on my way to work when I heard about the bus blast. I was so angry and felt so helpless that I de-

cidied the least I could do was give blood," said Ziva, a secretary. Yuval Cohen, who works in electronics at the Intel factory, just finished an overnight shift when he heard about the disaster. "The way things are going, Jerusalemites will donate blood one day and need blood the next," he said. One woman who works at the Teva pharmaceutical company went to MDA with a whole group of colleagues who wanted to donate blood. Yossi Wolfson, a Petah Tikva resident studying at a Jerusalem yeshiva, was among the first in the line but still had to wait over an hour to donate. "I don't know what we should do about the situation, except to pray," he said,

shrugging his shoulders. MDA staffers appealed to would-be donors to return later in the afternoon or the next day, when the crowding would be alleviated. But most of those in the queue said they had come to give and would stay there until their blood was taken. More information about blood donations can be obtained by calling the toll-free number 177-022-5911. MDA Jerusalem chief Avraham Halbersberg said that his staffers reached the bomb site yesterday almost instantly. "Our people were there within four minutes, and seven minutes later, all the wounded had been evacuated." Three mobile intensive care units and 13 ambulances were dispatched to the site.

Families face the unthinkable with pain and silent screams

IN THE Kennedy Memorial Hall of Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Keren there are wall decorations which read: "They shall be remembered" and "Gate to Life," but it was there that families and friends of those killed in yesterday's bus bombing heard the words which blew their lives apart. Surrounded by doctors, nurses and social workers, the relatives and friends clasped each other for comfort that could not be found and tried to understand the incomprehensible. "Now he's going to be put in the ground but that's not where he belongs," wailed the mother of Yoni Levy, a victim of the attack. "It hurts. It hurts. I can't take this pain," cried the mother of

another victim. A stretcher was rushed to a father who collapsed on his knees in the rain outside. Some screamed, some wept. The sister of one victim kept opening her mouth to say something but nothing came out, not even a name, just a silent scream. For some of those seeking information on the dead and wounded, it was the second Sunday in a row they had made such a journey. Tomer, a close friend of Yoni Levy, came to offer support to the family. Last Sunday, he had offered condolences to the family of his work colleague, Gabriel Krauss. "I just attended the memorial service for [a relative] Merav Na-

hum killed last week when I heard my daughter Galit had been wounded," said Maurice Choonah. Like many of those at the hospital, Choonah is a resident of the Katamon neighborhood and knew several of the dead and wounded in both attacks. Michal Gol, 25, the girlfriend of one of those wounded last week, rushed to the hospital to help the families. "When I heard of the attack I started crying and I kept thinking of all those families who would have to go through what we went through - the searching and the nightmare of not knowing. I had to come and do something," she explained. But unlike last week when the

injured and their families swamped the hospital corridors, yesterday there were few survivors. Only six injured victims were brought into the medical center, all of them in serious condition suffering from burn and blast wounds. Jerusalem Mayor and Likud MK Ehud Olmert visited the families of the wounded in the intensive care unit. At the entrance, he told reporters: "This is the second time in a week that a bus has exploded in the heart of Jerusalem. This terrible event raises several questions about what was done after last week's attack and what should be done in the future." He urged residents to keep the peace and not take the law into their own hands.

Hotline: Calm answers to heavy questions

THE room which houses the Jerusalem municipality's emergency hotline appears calm, even relaxed. Employees answer the phones with an air of unhurried confidence. Though the hotline's main job is to deal with public complaints on routine matters, employees received their baptism of fire on how to deal with a terror attack last week. By now, the procedures are old hat. Emotionally, of course, it never is. "It's very hard for us to keep working like robots," said Yafit Ben-Guy, 24, who has been on the job for only a month and a half. "It's especially hard when a friend or relative of the person who is calling has been wounded." Aliyan Mohi, 28, of Beit Sa-

tafa, says: "I live in an area which uses this bus, and I am afraid of receiving the name of someone I know. But this is my job." The hotline's main job is to give information on who was wounded and where they are hospitalized. Employees are not authorized to give out the names of the dead; instead, they refer people whose relatives are missing to the police hotline or to the Abu Kabir Forensic Institute. They also answer questions as to which bus was attacked, at what time, and in what direction it was going; how many people were killed; what streets are closed; where people can go to give blood; what else people can do to

help. There are also, of course, those who call to discuss politics - for instance, to inform the city that it should close down Orient House. "Obviously, we don't let them continue the conversation," said Avner Mizrahi, 26. The hotline is staffed by about a dozen phone operators, almost triple the normal complement. Most have been there since around 7 a.m. and have no idea when they will be able to leave. Some, like Shlomo Rivken, 31, have been there even longer. Rivken came in at 9 p.m. Saturday night to handle the night shift, and stayed on when the bomb exploded shortly before his

shift ended. Rivken, the resident Russian speaker, has somber news to impart after speaking with a Russian immigrant. "There's going to be an Anna on the list of the dead," he says with finality. Two social workers are there in case a caller gets hysterical, but they are not often needed for this, said Uri Heymann. They are there more to give advice and transmit information. For instance, he said, one person wanted to know if someone could accompany him to Abu Kabir. Heymann called around and then called the person back to let him know whom to call to arrange it. "You never get used to it," Rivken said. "It's impossible."

Katamonim: Fear surfaces amid macabre humor

RESIDENTS of Jerusalem's Katamonim area spent yesterday afternoon consoling each other and wondering why Hamas suicide bombers had targeted the No. 18 bus that goes through their neighborhood. "It's a seed of fear. You plant it and it grows. Then all of a sudden you transplant it and no one knows where it's going to pop up next," replied Jeremy Bland, a municipal gardener working in the neighborhood, which has suffered the highest casualty rate in the capital's two bus attacks. "A solution has to be found. People have to feel safe going to work; they have to feel safe sending their kids to school," said Bland. Neighborhood resident Ayala Sabag speculated: "Maybe it's because 18 means life. They decided that 18 is death." She was already repeating a macabre joke

circulating throughout the neighborhood: "Depressed people who want to commit suicide don't have to hang themselves, take an overdose or blow their brains out. They just have to get on a bus which travels from the Katamonim to town." Bland and Sabag were among a group gathered on the lawn outside a Bar Yohai Street apartment building, the home of one of the victims of yesterday's explosion. Only a week earlier they had gathered there to mourn a neighbor in the building, Daniel Biton, killed in the February 25 bomb blast. As the crowd grew, it came to include little girls dressed as Queen Esther, lending a strange, festive note to the gloomy gathering. At Avi Ansaem's minimarket

in Bar Yohai Street, business was slow. "I've got less customers than I generally have on a Sunday. People are scared to leave their homes, because there's terrorism everywhere...not just in the buses," said Ansaem. "We have to do what we did 20 years ago. We have to hit back." Shula Efrati, a mother of two, admitted to being afraid to ride the No. 18. "But I'm more afraid for my kids," she said. "We'll use the bus less and take more cabs." Miriam Ben-Abu, who lives in the same block as the other terrorist victims, will continue to ride the No. 18. "What can I do?" she lamented. "Who can afford to take taxis everywhere? But whenever I get in I look from side to side throughout the whole journey. You don't know who to trust any more."

Although most of the buses traveling the No. 18 route were near empty for most of the morning, by noon they began to fill up. Drivers tied black cloths to their sideview mirrors. David Cohen, a 31-year-veteran of the route, was constantly quizzed by passengers who asked whether he was going to stay in the job. "We have to continue," he said speaking on behalf of his colleagues. "That's our income." As for being afraid, Cohen said: "I can't afford to show any fear. If passengers think that I'm afraid their own confidence will crumble." Looking out the window while the bus was still in Katamon, passengers saw army officers entering a house where a crowd had already gathered. There was a collective sigh of sorrow for yet another grieving family, followed by cries for revenge.

Advertisement for Israel Electric Corporation tenders. Includes text: 'Israel Electric Corp. TENDERS The Corporation wishes to purchase goods/services, as detailed below:'. It lists various items like 'Supply agreement for Stage A - Substation' and 'Participation in a tender for Stage B - Substation'. It also includes a table with columns for 'Description' and 'Cost Of Tender Documents, incl. Vat (non-refundable)'. The table lists items like 'Participation in a tender for Stage A - Substation' and 'Participation in a tender for Stage B - Substation' with costs of NIS551. There is also a section for 'CONDITIONS APPLYING TO THE SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS'.

Advertisement from the State of Israel Ministry of the Interior. Text: 'STATE OF ISRAEL Ministry of the Interior Knesset Elections Law (Consolidated Version) 1969 Elections Law, 14th Knesset and Prime Minister (Ad Hoc) 1996 Preparation of 5756 Voters Rolls Applications for Transfer to a Disabled Persons' Voting Station'. It explains that any person who, because of physical disability, is unable to vote at the voting station to which he is allocated may apply to the Minister of the Interior, requesting that his name be transferred to another voting list, for a voting station where arrangements are available for disabled voters. It provides a phone number 09-7677249 and a deadline of March 12, 1996.

Advertisement for youth magazines. Text: 'They speak English, but do they read it???' 'The monthly youth magazines of The Jerusalem Post will encourage your kids to read in English and enjoy it!'. It lists three magazines: 'ZOOM English for children for ages 9-12', 'YOURS Easy English for ages 12-14', and 'HEY THERE! Intermediate Level for ages 14-16'. It also lists 'STUDENT POST Advanced Level for ages 16-18'. A subscription price of NIS 89 is offered for a yearly subscription to each paper. It includes a coupon to subscribe, with fields for name, address, zip code, and phone number. It also includes a section for 'DIAL AND SUBSCRIBE' with a phone number 02-315645 and payment options for credit cards.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page: 'הכרזת מלחמה' (Declaration of War).

מקאמן האזרחי

Itzik: Destroy Hamas's spiritual infrastructure

BATSHEVA TSUR

THE spiritual infrastructure of Hamas which has become a laboratory for cultivating terrorists has to be destroyed, MK Dalia Itzik, head of the Knesset's Education Committee, said yesterday.

She was speaking at an emergency session of the committee convened yesterday evening with the participation of Education Minister Amnon Rubinstein, ministry psychologists and senior

officials.

"The fatal connection between nationalist extremism and religious extremism is the root of all evil and the destruction of the spiritual infrastructure is no less important than the destruction of the physical infrastructure," Itzik said.

The committee, which sent its condolences to the bereaved families, called for extra psychological personnel to be sent to Jerusa-

lem schools to help children in the capital deal with the events of the last few days. Psychologists reported on how children, and particularly those in Jerusalem, were being helped to handle the tension and grief. The committee also sent special condolences to the Beit Hinuch high school, four of whose alumni have been killed in the past week's bus bombings.

Early yesterday morning, Rubinstein gave instructions to cancel all Purim festivities in kindergartens and schools out of respect for the dead and wounded. Nevertheless, many children who had already dressed up arrived at school in costumes. But there were no official parties and psychologists held discussions with pupils throughout the country.

Pupils from a Petah Tikva high school who had prepared *mish-loah manot* (Purim gift parcels) brought them instead to the wounded at Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Kerem, Education- al TV reported.

In state religious schools, psalms were recited and prayers said for the wounded and in memory of those killed, at the instruction of the Religious Schools Administration. Rabbis

and educators yesterday called on all older pupils to refrain from dressing up for Purim to prevent the possibility of terrorists dressing up and going unnoticed.

Meanwhile, schools and kindergartens will be open today in Jerusalem, as recommended by educational psychologists, the ministry spokesman said.

No classes will be held but activities will take place in keeping with the atmosphere.

Hundreds of Purim festivities canceled

GREER FAY CASHMAN

HUNDREDS of public and private Purim festivities along with many other lectures, concerts, theatrical performances and symposia have been canceled throughout the country.

The Union of Local Authorities recommended to its affiliates that all public Purim celebrations be canceled, said ULA spokesman Arnon Perlman.

None of the municipalities or local authorities have indicated they will do otherwise.

"I don't think there will be any street festivities because of the sensitivity of the situation," Perlman said, "but it's difficult to tell children not to dress up, and it's equally difficult to tell private people to desist from celebrations," he added.

Nonetheless, many companies and individuals canceled events, and some religiously observant people questioned whether it would be appropriate this year to send Purim gifts or to serve refreshments on synagogue premises after the reading of the *Scroll of Esther*.

The Jerusalem Municipality canceled all events for at least two days and the council met last night to decide whether the period of public mourning should be extended to the rest of the week.

Cancellations included Claire Bloom's narration of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and a scheduled concert by Aviv Gefen.

Other cancellations included performances and recitals at the Jerusalem International Convention Center, the Khan Theater, the Jerusalem Theater, and the Zionist Confederation House.

There were far fewer cancellations of functions scheduled at hotels, though the Foreign Ministry called off its Purim Party at the Renaissance Hotel and Intel Electronics did likewise at the Hyatt.

The Jerusalem Economic Forum has deferred its gala symposium on Jerusalem as the main tourist center in the Middle East.

Election campaign functions across the political spectrum have been put on hold in the capital.

In Tel Aviv, Mayor Ronni Milo gave orders that all functions involving the municipality were to be canceled. A municipal spokesperson said a full list of these events would be available today.

'We can't function like robots'

"OUR emotional strength is sapped. Even before we've had time to recover from the previous attacks, we have to deal with another one. We can't function like robots; we're human beings, too," Aharon Wolken, head of the *Hesed Shel Emat* volunteer unit in the Tel Aviv and Central districts said yesterday.

Just minutes after leaving for the Abu Kabir Forensic Institute for more work identifying bodies, Wolken said that while the volunteers generally are able to emotionally insulate themselves from what is going on at the site of such attacks, yesterday they could not.

"From a psychological standpoint, we work according to a system which numbs our senses, but this time it didn't work."

There was no Purim miracle here," he said.

Wolken said the rain which fell at the site would make their job more difficult because it washed away many finds, making identification more difficult.

Ten volunteers went to help their comrades in Jerusalem, and another 10 went to Abu Kabir.

Despite the emotional difficulties, the volunteers were again seen scouring the site of the attack, picking up bodies and body parts and collecting personal effects.

All the collected material was then placed in plastic bags, and sent either to the Shamgar Funeral Home or to Abu Kabir, where additional hours of work awaited the volunteers.

There was no Purim miracle here," he said.

Wolken said the rain which fell at the site would make their job more difficult because it washed away many finds, making identification more difficult.

Ten volunteers went to help their comrades in Jerusalem, and another 10 went to Abu Kabir.



Police clash with demonstrators at the site of the bus bombing yesterday.

(Brian Hendler)

Trauma expert: Anxiety and grief normal when 'one's illusion of safety is shattered'

ESTHER HECHT

SHOCK waves of anxiety, sorrow, pain and grief - all normal responses to an abnormal, traumatic event like yesterday's bus bombing - move through the country in concentric circles. Those physically closest to the event are the most traumatized, but virtually everyone is affected, according to Prof. Zahava Salomon, dean of Tel Aviv University's School of Social Work.

"Though we're all biologically vulnerable, we're generally able to get on with our lives because of the psychological sense that we're not vulnerable. This is a sustaining force that really helps us," she said.

After an event like this, however, "one's illusion of safety is shattered."

"People are exposed to feelings of great vulnerability and helplessness."

Among those most affected are the "near misses": those, for ex-

ample, who were spared because they got off the bus at an earlier stop, or were supposed to board the bus but didn't, she said.

The next circle includes those who were not directly involved physically, but who have a psychological link through previous terror attacks: survivors, relatives of those killed, people who had narrow escapes.

People who experienced other traumatic events, like the recent bus accident in Galilee, are also likely to have a strong response.

"Even though there's no [direct] connection, it arouses trauma," Salomon said.

"The more similar the current event is to the previous trauma, the more vulnerable the person is."

In Israel, the circles of vulnerability are very large, and include Holocaust survivors as well as

those who have fought in or experienced wars.

"People often mourn their personal losses in the current grief," she said. But this mourning brings no healing. "Repeat trauma is not a corrective emotional experience; it deepens the trauma."

Because there is no nationwide "corrective emotional experience" after a terror attack, there is so much anger, so many people seeking meaning, order, someone to blame, she said.

Feelings of heartickness, distress and anxiety are typical immediate responses among those closest to the event, and usually dissipate as time passes.

As an example she cited people whose homes were destroyed by missiles in the Gulf War. Though 80 percent had symptoms immediately, only a few still had symp-

toms one year later.

Salomon is the author of *Coping with War-induced Stress: The Gulf War and the Israeli Response*, published by Plenum Press, 1995.

In a few rare cases, however, these responses, instead of gradually disappearing, will become "crystallized," and the person may suffer from severe anxiety, recurrent nightmares, hypervigilance, anxiety that a similar event will happen any minute, disturbances of concentration and sleep.

Psychiatric intervention is indicated only if the symptoms persist, she said.

"But we all need a lot of reassurance and solidarity. In trauma you are absolutely alone. You get a lot of strength from the knowledge that others care."

"The support helps you feel the world is not coming to an end."

'Why did my sitter pick me up early?'

JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

PRINCESSES, Batman, and devils arrived at nursery schools around Jerusalem yesterday, despite early morning reports of the suicide bombing.

Although the schools closed early due to the attack, at Beit Hayeladim in Rehavia it was nursery school as usual. And, on this particular day, that meant retelling the Purim story and celebrating the triumph of good over evil with candies and sweets.

Dressed up as a strawberry and sucking on a cherry lollipop, Nitza Amedi, 4, said she heard about the bombing on the radio as her father was taking her to school.

"A bomb exploded on a bus," said Amedi, unable to elaborate.

Although teachers said that they know the children are aware of such incidents, they do not discuss them in the classrooms because of their charges' tender age. "Of course, they know what happened; they see it on television and hear their parents. But these children are too little to talk about it," said one worker.

Shawn Otmegzin, 5, said he knew there was a bombing, but this Spiderman-for-a-day shook his head "no" when asked if he was frightened by the news.

Carrying a lollipop in one hand and a baby bottle in the other, Imbar, 4, did not understand why her babysitter, Rinat Tamuz, had picked her up early.

"She doesn't realize that these are the sort of things that could happen," said Tamuz, adding that, as a result of the recent terrorist attacks, she will not travel with Imbar the bus.

Bus drivers fear life of 'Russian roulette'

MEMBERS of Egged's secretariat yesterday afternoon took a ride on No. 18 bus from the Gonen depot to Beit Egged to show solidarity with their colleagues.

Before departing from Gonen, they spoke with drivers and workers.

The No. 18 bombed last week left from the same spot, as did bus No. 26 that was the target of a suicide bombing seven months ago.

Shmuel Halifa, Egged's Jerusalem director, told the gathering at Beit Egged that "the drivers feel like they are in the middle of a game of Russian roulette."

"They know what time they are to leave their posts, but they don't know when they will be returning."

Egged's psychologist, Ziona Spivack, was called in to the Gonen depot immediately after the bombing. She said the attack was difficult for everyone to deal with.

"If possible, the drivers are immediately returned to the driver's seat. The drivers are anxious, but they must return to work," she said.

Shlomo Levine, chairman of the Egged secretariat, said his colleagues had "come to encourage you all. But you here have given us more encouragement."

At 12:30 p.m., the secretariat members got on No. 18 from Gonen.

As the bus drove through Katamon, not one person got on at the first six stops. As the bus continued toward town, a few people finally boarded.

"It was very difficult to get on the bus," Hava Sa'adon said.

"It is not possible to know now what is going to happen when you get on a bus." (Itm)

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The Jerusalem...
A people alone
BEN DANSKER

Vol. CXLV—No. 50,355
Sunday, March 3, 1996
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The New York Times Weekly Review

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When was it that the Jewish life has been...
Whether in the land of Israel...
In every corner of the globe...
The return of the Jewish people...
In the early years of the state...



Cradle to Grave

Hamas isn't just a terror group; it supports a wide range of social services, like clinics and sports clubs and this kindergarten, in Gaza, where children in uniform are taught to pray.

Terror Isn't Alone as a Threat to Mideast Peace

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

THE explosions that took 25 lives in Jerusalem and Ashkelon last week served a savage reminder that the Israeli-Palestinian peace still has a dangerous flaw called Hamas.

that won't do it...
To which the Arabic daily An-Nahar retorted in a frustrated and sarcastic editorial: "Peres is not asking for much from the Palestinian Authority — just destroy the infrastructure of Hamas, as if Hamas was a club that can be closed and dissolved in a moment... Hamas is a mass movement, and it will disappear only when Israel stops its hostility toward us."

fanatic fringe, as the Palestinians maintain? There is no question that Hamas has done terrible things, that terror is an integral part of its mystique.

Social Work and Force

But the "armed struggle" is only a small fraction of Hamas's activity. Inspired by the Islamic Brotherhoods in other Arab countries from which it got its start in 1987, Hamas — an Arabic acronym for Islamic Resistance Movement — is dedicated to the triumph of Islam through social work, politics, indoctrination and force. Unlike Islamic Holy War, a taut fundamentalist organization dedicated solely to "armed struggle," Hamas is a movement without a cohesive chain of command, making a crackdown all the more difficult. It

is estimated to enjoy the direct support of about a quarter of the Palestinian population, and varying degrees of sympathy among many more.

The movement gained strength in Israeli-occupied areas alongside the uprising known as the "intifada." Since the signing of the first Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement in 1993, Hamas's military wing, the "Al-Qassam Brigades," has struck 14 times inside Israel, leaving 102 dead and hundreds wounded. Most victims have been Israelis but not all; some have been Arab workers in Israel and, in last week's attack, a young engaged couple from New Jersey and Connecticut. Most of the perpetrators, like the two young men responsible for last week's bombings, were Muslim

Continued on page 4

Jews will not find rest by seeking to be like other nations

Home Improvement

A 2,000-Mile Fence? First, Get Estimates.

By SAM HOWE VERHOVEK

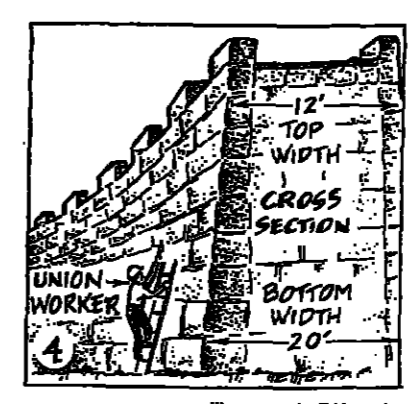
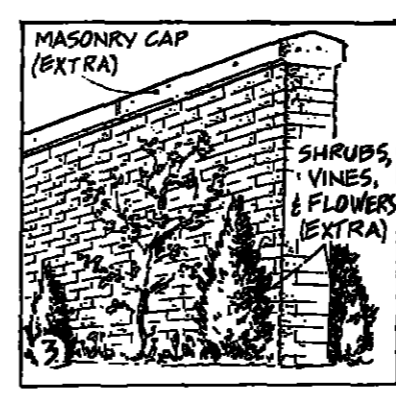
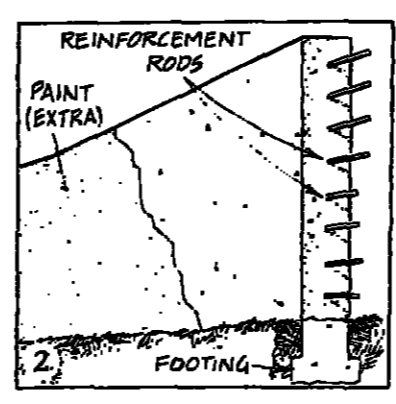
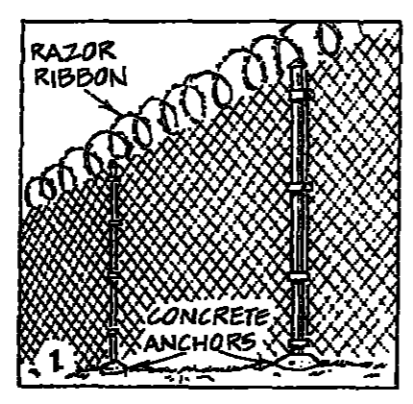
IF he is elected President of the United States, Patrick J. Buchanan vows, "I will stop this massive illegal immigration cold. Period. Paragraph."

Or, as he put it to a crowd in Waterloo, Iowa: "I'll build that security fence, and we'll close it, and we'll say, 'Listen José, you're not coming in!'"

Leave aside that any fence, in itself, could only do so much to accomplish Mr. Buchanan's aim: half of all illegal immigrants come to this country legally but overstay their visas, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. And leave aside that even Mr. Buchanan, when pressed for details, says he is not really talking about building a fence or a wall across all 2,000 miles of the U.S.-Mexican border.

But just how much would such a thing cost? The answer is, anywhere from \$166.8 million to \$452 billion, a wild range that will make sense to anyone who has ever tried to pin down a home improvement contractor. These figures, gleaned from experts ranging from professors of civil engineering to industry representatives and salesmen vary for several reasons, including the cost of materials and of labor.

The on-the-cheap estimate is for a standard chain-link fence, using figures from the Chain Link Fence Manufacturers Association of America of Washington, D.C., and Atlas Fence Co. in Houston. "Let's see now," said Chris Casshore, Atlas's senior estimator, punching some numbers into his calculator. "You're talking 2,000 miles by 12 feet high, at our standard rate



Walls That Add Beauty and Security to Your Back Yard

Contractors in Houston and other building experts gave estimates for building various types of walls for the 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico. The contractors who supplied price quotes do not necessarily think that building these walls would be a good idea.

1 Chain-Link Fence
Atlas Fence Co. said that it could put up a standard 12-foot-high chain link fence for \$166.8 million. But this might be too easy to cut through, so Atlas recommended heavier 6-gauge wire and "razor ribbon" for the top. This would come to: **\$251.9 mil.**

2 Basic Concrete Wall
Texas A & M, using the Means Building data, estimates that a

concrete wall 15 inches thick and 12 feet height would run you: **\$1.4 bil.**
Real Thick Concrete Wall
Cliff's Concrete & Construction recommends that the wall be 2 feet thick and 12 feet high. This is a bit pricier, at. **\$2.4 bil.**

figures that a shade over 855 million standard modular bricks would go into a wall 12 feet high and 3 5/8 inches thick. The bricks and labor would set you back: **\$1.9 bil.**

A Serious Chain-Link Fence
Texas A & M University's civil engineering department suggested that prison-grade wire anchored in concrete would be even sturdier. Using the Means Building Construction Cost Data Manual, it comes up with: **\$835.2 mil.**

3 Lovely Brick Wall
The Brick Institute of America

4 The Great Wall of China
A concrete wall 25 feet high, 20 feet thick at the base, tapering to 12 feet thick at the top, according to Texas A & M, could be built for: **\$45.2 bil.**

Electrifying the Fence
Griffin Fence Co. could wire the fence for: **\$362 mil.**

The most successful wall designs meander over the landscape, like so:

Odd Couple
The Catholic church and the Catholic candidate.

By Peter Steinfelds **2**

Front Burner
Cuba isn't important anymore. Right?

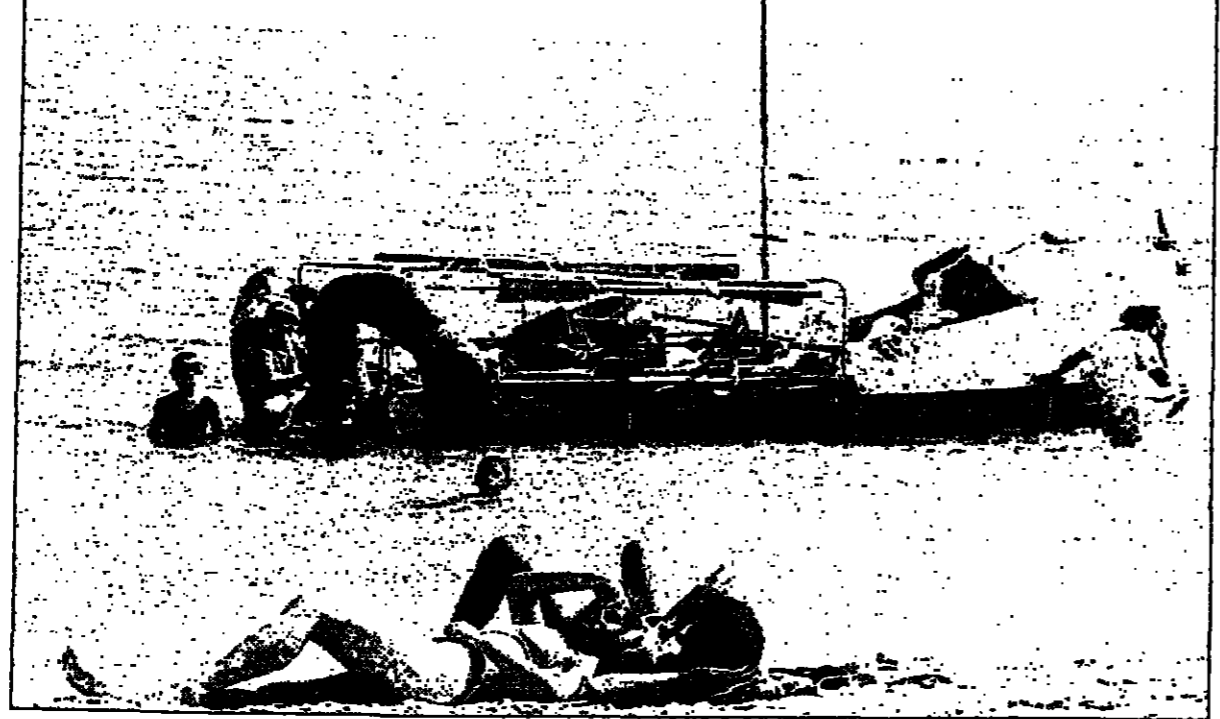
By Larry Rohter **3**

Old Soldiers
Defeated dictators do not just fade away.

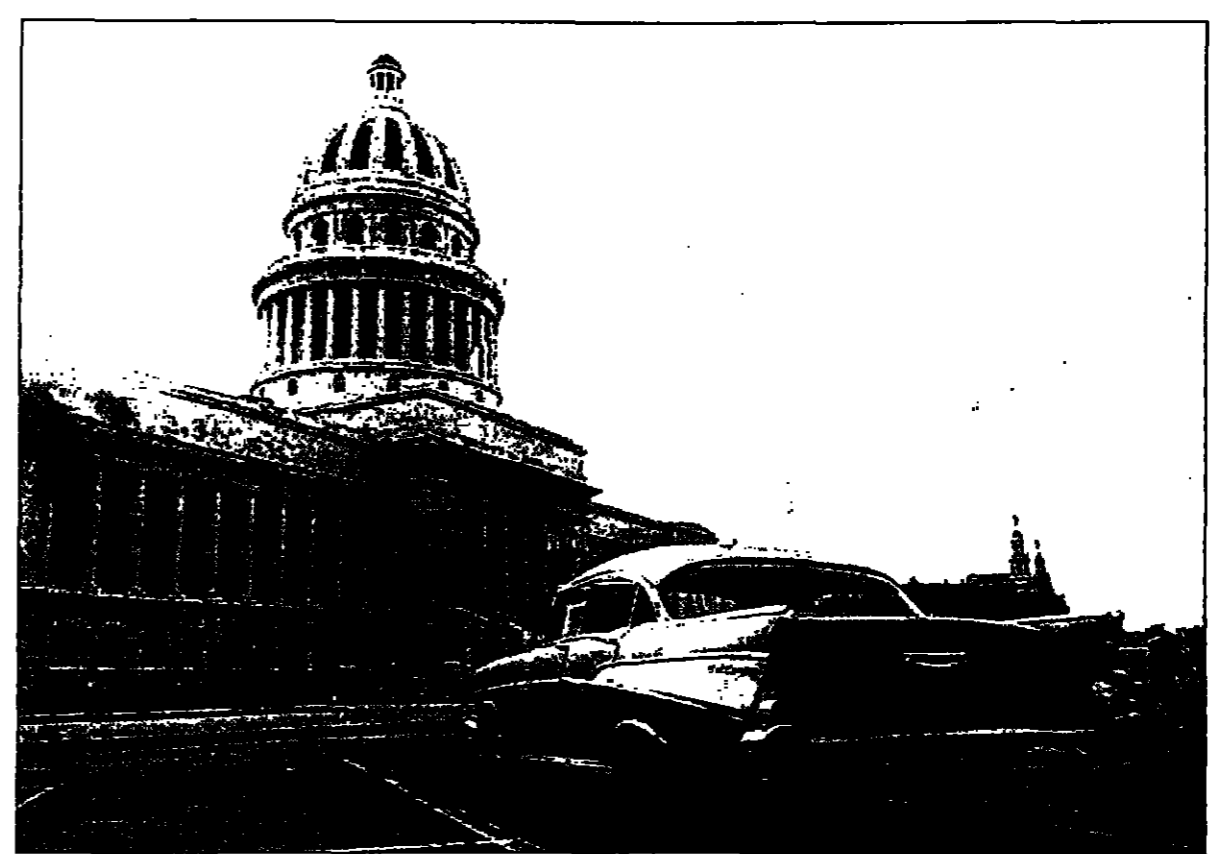
By Chris Hedges **3**

Continued on page 2

The World



With the economy reeling, rafters leaving Cuba pass sunbathers on a beach outside Havana in 1994.



Stagnation is evident in a 1957 Chevrolet in front of the former Cuban Capitol last year.

What Castro Still Needs Is a Good Fight

By LARRY ROHTER

HAVANA

UNTIL last weekend, it was tempting to think that Fidel Castro mattered less to the United States than at any time since his seizure of power 37 years ago. Ever since Bill Clinton took office, Washington has viewed Mr. Castro as a noxious irritant, to be sure, but mostly it has tried to ignore him. Yet somehow Mr. Castro — and the exiles in Miami who so despise him — manage periodically to keep drawing America's attention back to their family feud.

Since Cuba no longer underwrites revolutionary movements in Latin America (not that it could afford to) and, with the cold war over, no longer serves as a Soviet beachhead, it poses no real threat to American strategic interests, or so the Clinton Administration believes. But that is hardly the point.

Just as the exiles regularly need to remind Mr. Castro that they do not intend to give up their struggle, so does he feel compelled to demonstrate to his people that Cuba and its floundering revolution still have enemies that only he can protect them from. No wonder the United States gets caught in the middle.

Before he became a Communist, after all, Fidel Castro was already a nationalist, and during his long history as the principal adversary of the United States in Latin America, he has often found it more advantageous to invoke the legacy of the Cuban nationalist José Martí than that of Karl Marx. Last week was clearly one of those occasions; it began with Cuban Air Force jets shooting down two unarmed civilian planes over the Straits of Florida and ended yesterday with United States Coast Guard vessels protecting an exile flotilla just off Cuba's coast (and assuring they staged no provocation).

Viewed from outside, this latest confrontation with the United States appears to produce little for Mr. Castro. The slight lessening of tensions in relations with the Clinton Administration that had been achieved has now evaporated, replaced by the reinforcement of

existing American economic sanctions and the prospect of other, harsher measures.

But none of that reflects Mr. Castro's real priority, which is keeping his regime in power during its longest and most severe crisis. At home, the events of the last week have allowed him to portray himself as a patriot, standing up for "our little country" against the bullying of a much-larger neighbor to the north that, Cubans have been led to believe, has always coveted Cuba's territory and resources, while sheltering and encouraging traitors to the Fatherland.

Boxed In

In a sense, Mr. Castro has had no other choice than to pursue that strategy. Since the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989, he has seen most of the basic pillars of the Socialist system here deteriorate or, in some cases, vanish altogether. Health and education have eroded, several other basic services are no longer offered free of charge, prostitution has re-emerged and the dollar has become the country's second currency. Worst of all, from Mr. Castro's point of view, has been the experimentation, however timid, with economic policies that reward individual initiative and undermine Socialist egalitarianism.

Mr. Castro has complained of having to implement even those modest reforms, knowing they will lead to a loss of the state control and authority he views as essential. And though he has lately become enamored of China's method of combining economic reform with political repression, he has proven less flexible on most issues than his counterparts in Beijing. They welcome investment from Taiwan, for instance.

Mr. Castro still exorcises "that mafia in Miami," presumably including his sister Juana, his daughter Alina Revuelta and a nephew by marriage, Lincoln Diaz-Balart, who is a Republican Congressman from Florida. The Chinese now preach the gospel that "becoming rich is good," while Cuba's leader appears to still regard it as a sin — or at least as a crime and a betrayal of principle.

"Yes, we have legalized robbery," he lamented in a speech to the National Assembly on Dec. 26 that urged the imposition of an income tax, "or at least a certain type of thievery that is produced on the black market here and there, done in one way or another. We have had to adapt ourselves to realities."

Under those circumstances, Mr. Castro has little to hold on to, or to justify his continued rule, than the nationalist card he has always played whenever he felt himself in trouble. Wrapping himself in the Cuban flag and pointing his finger at Washington enables Mr. Castro to paint anyone opposed to him, including both the 1.5 million Cuban exiles in the United States and the 130 dissident and human rights groups here that have recently come together in an umbrella coalition called Concilio Cubano, as nothing more than agents of sinister American interests.

Mr. Castro's objective is to "divert attention from the generalized internal crisis to the terrain of bilateral relations," Elizardo Sánchez Santa Cruz, one of Cuba's leading dissidents, said. "He wants to continue exaggerating the image of the external enemy which has been vital for the Cuban Government during decades, an external enemy which can be blamed for the failure of the totalitarian model implanted here."

History Lessons

The history of the relationship between the United States and Cuba is such that the Cuban leader has plenty to draw on when he needs to inflame his country's 11 million people. During his own administration, Mr. Castro can list, among other things, the Bay of Pigs and various assassination attempts against him, all of which are recounted at the popular Museum of the Revolution here, with "the cretins' corner" devoted to Ronald Reagan. Earlier, there were the expansionist impulses that led to the Spanish-American War and to the Platt Amendment of 1902, which granted Washington "the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence."

Indeed, the Cuban Government has been quick to

evoke that past in the current confrontation. Whether mere coincidence or something more, the attack on the Brothers to the Rescue airplanes occurred on the 101st anniversary of "El Grito de Baires," José Martí's call to arms that launched Cuba's war of independence against Spain. And when Juan Pablo Roque, a former Brothers to the Rescue pilot who now appears to have been a Cuban infiltrator, was asked during television interviews here about his reasons for returning from the United States, he cited Martí's famous phrase about living in "the belly of the beast."

Letting It Simmer

For its part, the Clinton Administration has been content to let the Cuban situation simmer, fending off at the same time leaders of the exile movement who are pushing for a final reckoning and businessmen who are very eager to begin trading again with Havana: The political repercussions in Florida have always seemed too large a risk. In fact, once the raft crisis of August 1994 was resolved, with an immigration agreement that ended a 30-year-old American policy that regarded all Cubans fleeing the island as political refugees, the Administration had hoped Cuba would remain on the back burner until Mr. Clinton's second term.

Mr. Castro, however, operates on a very different timetable than the nine American Presidents he has squared off with, and once again has forced Mr. Clinton to deal with Cuba on his terms.

So now, Mr. Clinton finds himself at a loss for what to do next. The legal enactment of the American economic embargo — one of the steps that a punitive bill now before Congress would take — would tie the President's hands in the future and make it hard for him to pursue any kind of détente without the approval of Capitol Hill.

It would also make it much easier for Mr. Castro to manufacture another crisis the next time he thinks his political and economic problems are getting out of hand — which may well be what the Cuban leader and those closest to him have had in mind all along.

Karadzic and Hussein, Survivors

Bosnia and Iraq: The West Repeats Itself

By CHRIS HEDGES

VIENNA

ON the ground in Bosnia, NATO commanders are slowly learning a lesson that might have been driven home to them in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf war: Sometimes, it is not enough to humiliate a dictator before his people. If you want him out of office, you may have to do the job yourself.

Saddam Hussein's story is familiar enough. Although he ran a police state, lost a war and was roundly detested by his subjects, the West shrank from supporting a rebellion against him, and he survived in power. Five years later, he is as entrenched as ever.

Closing Ranks

Today, something similar is happening in the Serb part of Bosnia. Just as Mr. Hussein's inner circle closed ranks in the months following the Gulf war, so the Bosnian Serb commanders and political leaders have banded together with their leader, Radovan Karadzic, and their commander, Gen. Ratko Mladic, as these two cling to power, no matter that they are under United Nations indictment as war criminals.

Ousting these Bosnian Serb leaders was never a declared aim of American policy, just as ousting Saddam Hussein was never a declared aim of policy in the Gulf war. But there was a quiet assumption in both cases: that the people around these leaders, stung by their humiliation, would oust them and thus deliver to America a more malleable government to work with.

Indeed, much of American planning for a withdrawal from Bosnia nine months from now rests on the idea that the Bosnian Government will have more reasonable Serb leaders to deal with.

But that hardly seems likely now. The problem is that NATO is un-

willing to risk an open confrontation with Mr. Karadzic and General Mladic by pursuing them to arrest them. And this reluctance — like the unwillingness to press on to Baghdad and oust President Hussein — may prove the undoing of all the hopes of getting rid of these leaders.

As time passes, and Mr. Karadzic and Mr. Mladic show they can still cling to power, their credibility rises in the eyes of their own people, and NATO's credibility wanes. They gain power rather than lose it. And NATO at once is exposed for lacking the political will to contest the Bosnian Serbs and for wanting to achieve policy goals on the cheap.

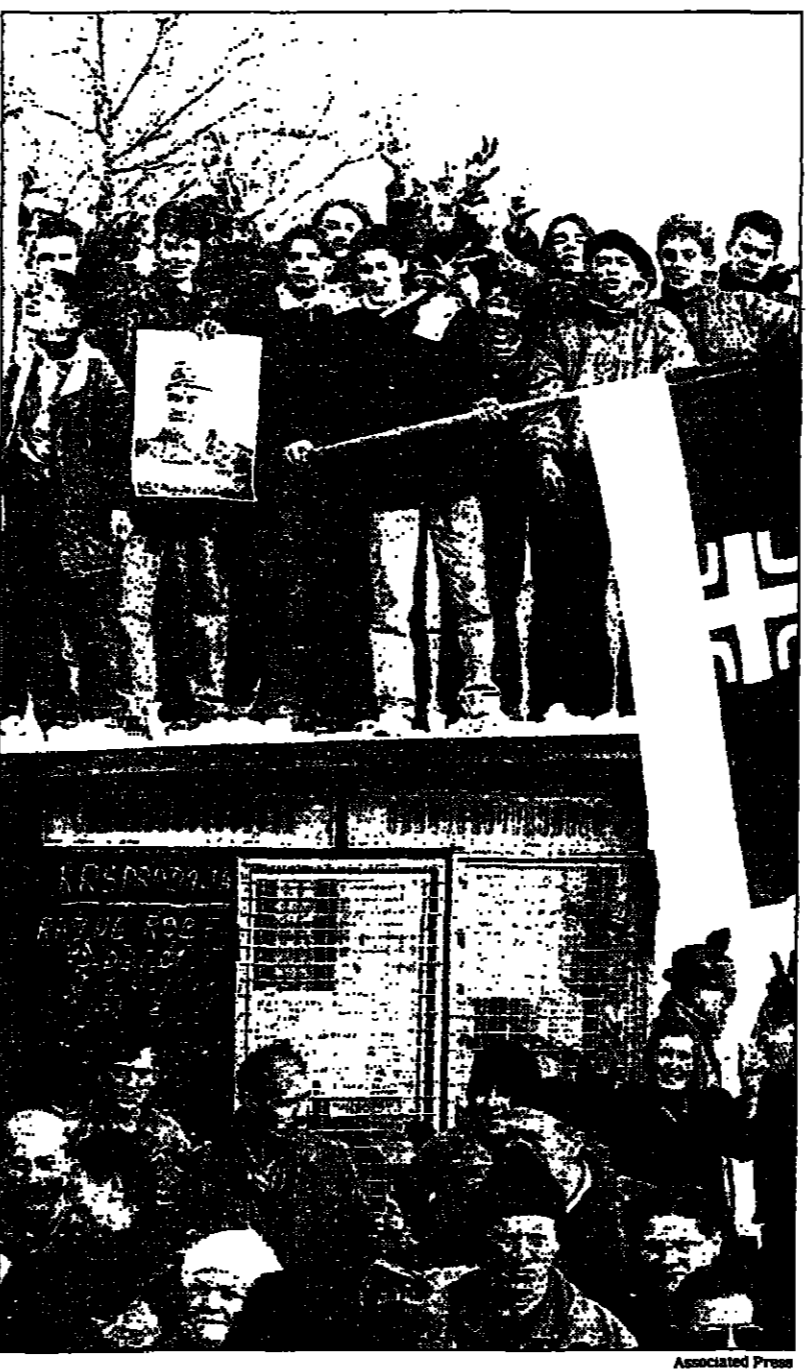
So the failure to state their goals up front, and then work openly for them, is in fact producing, as it did in the Gulf, precisely the result that Washington does not want.

The longer these men remain in charge, the more erosion there is in the perception of NATO's power, and the implicit threat of coercion that is vital if the 60,000-strong force it is leading is to keep the peace.

From the beginning, the NATO-led troops have said they would arrest war criminals if they came across them, but would not pursue them because that was not their prime mission. But the notion that the NATO commanders are handing out pictures of General Mladic and Mr. Karadzic to their troops in case they bump into them, when both can be found by anyone willing to drive to the Serb stronghold of Pale, only makes NATO look ridiculous to the Serbs on whom it was counting to send the leaders packing.

Here I Am, Guys

So Mr. Mladic and Mr. Karadzic, as the weeks pass, grow bolder in their public displays of power. Indeed, even as the European High Representative Carl Bilt was meeting with other Bosnian Serb political leaders in the Serb-held city of Banja Luka last Tuesday, Mr. Karadzic brazenly moved about in the same



Bosnian Serbs rally with a picture of Gen. Ratko Mladic last November.

municipal building, ignoring the presence outside of heavily armed British soldiers from the NATO force, which is known as IFOR.

"The whole process is being ruined," said Mahir Hadzihametovic, the head of Bosnia's mission to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, in Vienna. "Karadzic wanders about freely while official papers are handed to the IFOR troops authorizing his arrest. IFOR is behaving more and more like the United Nations Protection Force. The refusal by IFOR to implement the rule of law in Bosnia, including the international law that calls for the arrest of war criminals, is destroying its credibility."

Bosnian Serb underlings, with whom Western officials do agree to meet, remain fiercely loyal to the old leaders at least in part because opposition Serbs have neither the guns nor the open support with which to challenge the leadership. And the Bosnian Serbs, however much they have lost confidence in their leaders, know that any challenge to them will bring bloodshed.

In one sense, the assumption that Mr. Karadzic, like Mr. Hussein, would somehow vanish, is a result less of wishful thinking than of a decline of American power and of unity among its allies. The Gulf war coalition, too, included Arabs who feared the breakup of Iraq more than they feared the continuation in power of Mr. Hussein, so the coalition had neither the unity nor the political will to send its forces into Baghdad to get rid of him. Similarly, in Bosnia, the United States is allied with European countries that are skittish about leaving the Muslims too strong in Bosnia, and it is also hamstrung by the American public's clear unwillingness to make a long commitment that could include heavy casualties. And it remembers how efforts to arrest a warlord in Somalia cost 18 American lives and failed anyway, destroying support for the mission. Thus the fear of "mission creep," and the unwilling-

ness to seek out Mr. Karadzic and General Mladic so they can be arrested and sent off to The Hague for trial.

Indeed, NATO commanders say that hauling in Mr. Karadzic and Mr. Mladic would plunge them into a confrontation with the Bosnian Serbs, which could trigger a prolonged, low-level conflict that could jeopardize the mission.

So in Iraq, the American-led coalition took on the job of liberating Kuwait, but no more. And in Bosnia, the NATO-led force has taken on the job of separating warring factions, but no more. Presidents Bush and Clinton both presented this approach as measured, sober, appropriate and prudent. But the approach has been read differently by the people who might have challenged their leaders. To these people, whether Serbs or Iraqis, the approach has seemed merely timid. And in both cases, the effort to limit bloodshed has had the effect of prolonging the rule of leaders who started the conflicts in the first place — and may restart them.

Second Chances

Actually, the Serb leaders may well give NATO new chances to show resolve. Mr. Karadzic, according to Dayton, Ohio, is not permitted to run for office in the elections scheduled for this fall. But he says he will if his party nominates him — something that seems likely. NATO may have to face that issue then.

Similarly, General Mladic has been angered by the detention of two of his senior officers in The Hague, and there are reports that he has called on his soldiers to kidnap American troops. Again, this could mean a confrontation.

But for now, at least, the West isn't doing the job of ousting the Serb leaders, although it would clearly be delighted if someone within Serb-held Bosnia would do the job for it.

As in Iraq, the West may have to wait a long time.

Ideas & Trends

Coal Tries for a Comeback

By JACQUES STEINBERG

ST. NICHOLAS VILLAGE, Pa. TANDING against the side of a soot-streaked mountain, the cluster of rickety wooden buildings that comprise the Blaschak family coal company look as if time passed them by decades ago.

So it's surprising to learn that a stream of trucks has begun to roll, once again, through the Pennsylvania countryside here, about 50 miles northwest of Allentown.

But instead of bearing tons of loose coal destined for nearby steel mills and American military bases overseas — once the 59-year-old Blaschak Coal Corporation's bread and butter — these trucks are headed for suburban stove shops and lawn and garden centers from New Mexico to northern Maine.

And the coal is packaged in easy-to-tote, white plastic bags, small enough to fit in a car trunk but big enough to keep a living room warm for days.

Cheap Heating

More than a half century after Americans began trading in their coal shovels for the convenience and efficiency of oil and gas, a group of coal producers and stove manufacturers are trying to persuade homeowners to take a fresh look at a fossil fuel dismissed long ago as filthy and cumbersome.

But in trying to market coal as a cheaper alternative to oil and gas, and a cleaner choice than wood, the companies face hurdles: from an environmental lobby that did not exist in 1950, when more than a third of American homes still burned coal, to a collective belief, seared in the memories of many people over 40, that stoking a coal fire is too much work.

The grade of coal that companies like Blaschak and the nearby Harman Stove Company are pushing for home heating is anthracite, or hard coal, not bituminous coal, its softer, smokier, better-known cousin. Bituminous coal continues to stoke power plants around the country, mostly because of its availability in huge quantities. Anthracite, which is mined almost exclusively in

northeastern Pennsylvania, costs a bit more but burns more cleanly than the bituminous variety, giving off none of the smoke, smell or dust that make most grades of bituminous coal impractical for home use.

The modern generation of anthracite coal stoves — which look a lot like pot-bellied wood stoves — are far more sophisticated than the great basement furnaces of old. Where once coal stoves required constant vigilance and shoveling, the new models, which can cost about \$2,000, are tethered to computerized thermostats and sometimes fed by automated hoppers, which can be loaded with up to 80 pounds of coal — enough to heat several rooms, untended, for as many as three days. And the ashes are carted off, not in great cans as they once were, but in briefcase-size drawers that can

On a steady decline for decades, this fossil fuel is gaining a foothold in homes that want heat on the cheap.

ences program at Pennsylvania State University. Those figures may vary in different localities.

A pound of coal stacks up well against an equal quantity of wood, its biggest competitor in the supplemental heating market, producing more than twice as much energy and fewer pollutants, Mr. Schobert said.

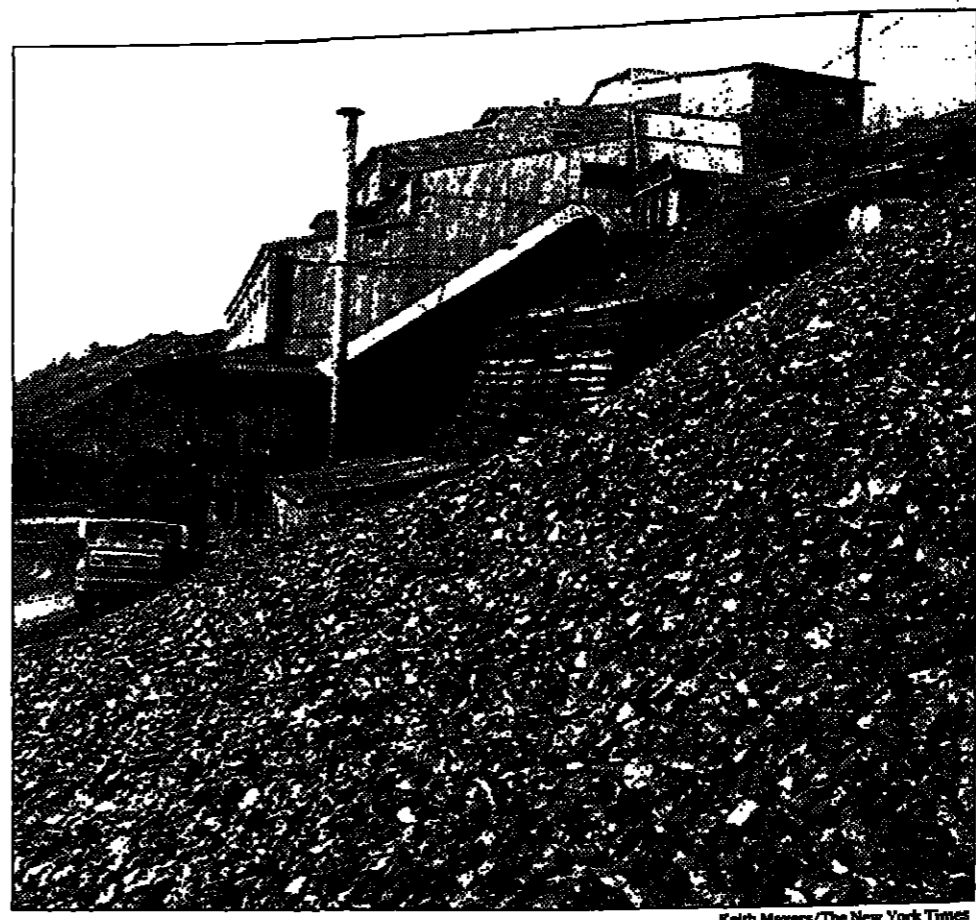
But environmentalists caution that while coal may be kinder to the air than burning logs, it poses a more dangerous environmental threat than either oil or gas. It produces numerous contaminants, including sulfur dioxide, which causes acid rain, and an array of microscopic metallic particulates, and in far greater quantities. That coal stoves are not regulated by the Clean Air Act is a function only of the small number in use — fewer than 300,000 homes nationwide heat with coal. Federal officials said.

"It sounds like a really bad idea to me," said Deborah Shprentz, an air pollution expert at the Natural Resources Defense Council, a private environmental group, "like heading back into the Dark Ages."

Charles Daly, an auto technician, installed a coal stove in October to heat his three-bedroom farmhouse about 50 miles south of Buffalo. His fuel bills have been reduced by half during the past four months, he said. The major handicap, however, is bulk. When the winter is over, he will have used nearly a ton and a half, or sixty 50-pound bags of Blaschak coal.

"Whenever my boys go down to the basement," he said, "they come back up with a bag of coal."

Coal never came in immaculate white packages in Dickens's London, or, for that



Anthracite at the Blaschak Coal Corporation, a family business in Nazareth, Pa.

matter, in the American Northeast during the Depression. Then, dump trucks poured coal into the cellars of homes and apartment houses. While bituminous coal fueled railroads and factories in the Midwest, anthracite became the dominant home-heating fuel in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic states during the early decades of this century.

Coming Full Circle

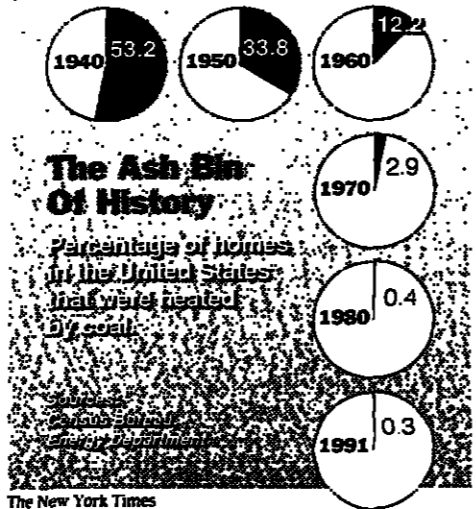
Since 1950, the use of the fuel with a dirty reputation has steadily waned, supplanted by oil and, increasingly, gas, according to the United States Census Bureau. In 1991, the last year for which Census figures are available, 0.3 percent of American homes, or about 280,000, were warmed by coal.

Still, there are glimmers of a revival. After slipping for six decades, the production of Pennsylvania anthracite rose to more than 8 million tons last year — nearly double the amount mined just three years earlier, and more than in any other year since 1970, according to the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Protection. Driving that production, at least in part, is increased home demand, state officials said.

Stove makers say they are seeing the increase, too. The Harman Stove Company, which is based about 15 miles north of Harrisburg and accounts for perhaps half the national sales in the coal stove market, said it sold 3,000 stoves last year, 50 percent more than five years ago. And Keystone Manufacturing, in nearby Schuylkill, said it sold 1,400 coal stoves last year, double the number in 1990.

Although environmentalists worry that the new demand will only serve to inflict more scars on the pock-marked Appalachian mountains in Pennsylvania, Daniel R. Blaschak, 38, the company treasurer who represents the third generation of his family to mine coal here, said his company has grown more respectful of its surroundings. He said that as it continues to dig deeper for coal, it is sealing the open tunnels his ancestors drilled — which have long polluted nearby rivers when it rains — and has started to replant the bald surfaces of old mines with grass.

"It is back around full circle," he said, a line of white bags of coal chattering down an assembly line behind him, "applying modern technology to what we had in the beginning."



The New York Times

be emptied into the garbage.

Proponents say that an anthracite stove provides a relatively inexpensive supplement to the oil or gas that might heat the rest of the house. To generate 1 million B.T.U.'s of energy, or enough to heat an average home for about a day, a homeowner could spend roughly \$4.97 on anthracite coal, \$5.97 on natural gas or \$5.89 on oil, said Harold Schobert, chairman of the fuel sci-

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Terror Isn't Alone In Fighting Peace

Continued from page 1

zealots prepared to sacrifice their own lives for promises of paradise, glory and family support. The tens of thousands of Palestinians who turned out for the funeral of Yahya Ayyash, an organizer of bomb attacks known as "the Engineer" who was killed on Jan. 5 by a booby-trapped cellular phone, bore testimony to the powerful aura that the struggle against Israel still holds among Palestinians.

Split Leadership

But experts think the military wing operates separately from the political leadership, and that the latter is split into at least three broad directions: moderates in the Gaza Strip who are hoping to participate in the new Palestinian politics; West Bank leaders still testing their strength since the Israeli withdrawal; and hard-core leaders in exile who reject Mr. Arafat and his peace.

The diffusion of the leadership was displayed last week when political and armed branches of Hamas in Gaza disavowed responsibility for the bombings and jointly offered to stop attacks if Israel stopped hunting Hamas leaders and released Hamas prisoners from its jails. (Israel refused to respond, saying it negotiates only with Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority.)

The real source of Hamas's authority among Palestinians is not the mystique of the "armed struggle," but the broad range of social services it developed under Israeli occupation. Typically, a poor Palestinian family in the West Bank might send a child to a Hamas school on a Hamas bus, use a low-cost Hamas clinic, play soccer at a Hamas sports club, and, if really needy, get a ration of Hamas rice. Then, in the mosques, the imams are likely to spread the Hamas message against "Zionism" and Western decadence.

A senior Israeli military officer who studies Hamas said in a briefing last week that 95 percent of the \$60 million to \$70 million that the movement raises annually goes for "civilian" activities, compared to only 5 percent for the "armed struggle." He said 85 percent of the money comes from abroad, much of it from gulf states and the United States; 15 percent is collected internally.

The best way to choke off Hamas, the officer said, would be to choke off its funds. But he acknowledged that most of the money came as legal contributions to charitable causes. "We don't have any ideas how to deal with this problem," he said.

Mr. Arafat's basic strategy has been to focus on the differences in

the Hamas leadership by wooing the moderates, and to supplant its social programs with government services. The Palestinians argue that Gaza, which has been under Mr. Arafat's control for two years, has demonstrated the effectiveness of the approach. By all accounts, the popularity of Hamas there has been waning. Local Hamas leaders have been at the forefront of efforts to mediate a truce with exile leaders, and in the Palestinian elections in January, 88 percent of the population cast ballots in defiance of Hamas's refusal to participate.

The Palestinians further note that there were no terror attacks for four months, until Mr. Ayyash was assassinated Jan. 5. Israel did not admit to the deed, but nobody has much doubt that it was the work of Israeli intelligence. Afterward Israel braced for retaliation, and leaflets sent out after last weekend's attacks said they were by "cells of the martyr Engineer Ayyash" — not the Qassam Brigades or Hamas.

In the past week, almost no Israeli commentator or politician has focused on the Ayyash connection. In the Israeli view, the terror predates the Ayyash killing, and since the bombings the only debate has been how much tougher to get with the Palestinians. "The main point is this," wrote Zeev Schiff, military analyst for the daily Haaretz, "under no circumstances should a message be sent to Hamas and its followers that Israel stands helpless before it."

Arafat Under Pressure

Under Israeli pressure, Mr. Arafat ordered a roundup of more than 200 Islamic militants. But he also made clear he is not about to go after what Mr. Peres called the Hamas "infrastructure." Even if he were willing to do so, it is not clear he could, given that he has been in charge of West Bank cities for only a few weeks. Palestinian commentators noted that Israel itself failed to curb Hamas in all its years of occupation, and that the two suicide bombers last week came from Hebron — a city still under Israeli control.

All this points to the fact that whether they view Hamas as a terrorist or a political organization, Israel and the Palestinian Authority have no choice but to work together.

If Hamas terrorists are allowed to attack again, Mr. Arafat could find himself confronting a far less sympathetic Israeli government, while if Israel pushes him into a corner, Hamas will only gain strength. The challenge is to curb the militants now, and thus speed a peace that could obviate the need for a Hamas.

مكتبة من الأصول

Foreign Affairs
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Land of The Rising Sun (Inc.)

HIROSHIMA, Japan
There is a view in some quarters of the Clinton Administration that the U.S. no longer needs to worry about Japan as an economic competitor. After all, Japan lags behind the U.S. in software innovation, it's going through a banking-bailout crisis, it has a rapidly aging population, and it can't seem to shake its recession.

As one U.S. official likes to say, "Japan today is an island with 125 million people growing old, who haven't invented anything new since the Sony Walkman."

I beg to differ. Yes, Japan will have to dig out of its banking crisis, and it will. But if you look at how Japan is strategically positioning itself for the future, only a fool — a complete and utter fool — would write this place off.

To begin with, the most competitive Japanese companies are quietly beginning to dominate the megamarket of tomorrow: Asia. That's Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, Burma, southern China, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam (and Japan itself, which is 70 percent of East Asia's G.D.P.). In the 1980's Japan was putting about 12 percent of its foreign direct investment into other Asian countries; in the 1990's it's been about 35 percent.

Through this strategy Japanese companies are lowering their costs with cheaper Asian labor, while simultaneously capturing a major share of the fastest-growing market on the planet. This year, the Asian market for consumer electronics became larger than Europe and by next year it will be larger than the U.S. By the end of this decade Toyota (and all its Japanese suppliers who came along with it) will be producing one million cars a year in Thailand. Japan already has 80 percent of the auto market in Asia outside of Japan.

"The Japanese are arrogant, insular and stubborn, but they are not stupid," says Ken Courts, economist for Deutsche Bank in Japan. "They see where the money is, they see where the growth is, and that is where they are parking their car — and they are taking as many places in the parking lot as they can."

Watch Japan quietly capture the Asian market.

Yes, the U.S. is also investing in Asia, but not with such a coherent strategy. In January, Japan announced it was giving Cambodia \$100 million in foreign aid to help it develop infrastructure for a new mobile phone system. A month later Cambodia awarded contracts to three private firms to market this new phone system to consumers. The contracts were divided up between the three major Japanese phone companies, N.T.T., Astel and NEC.

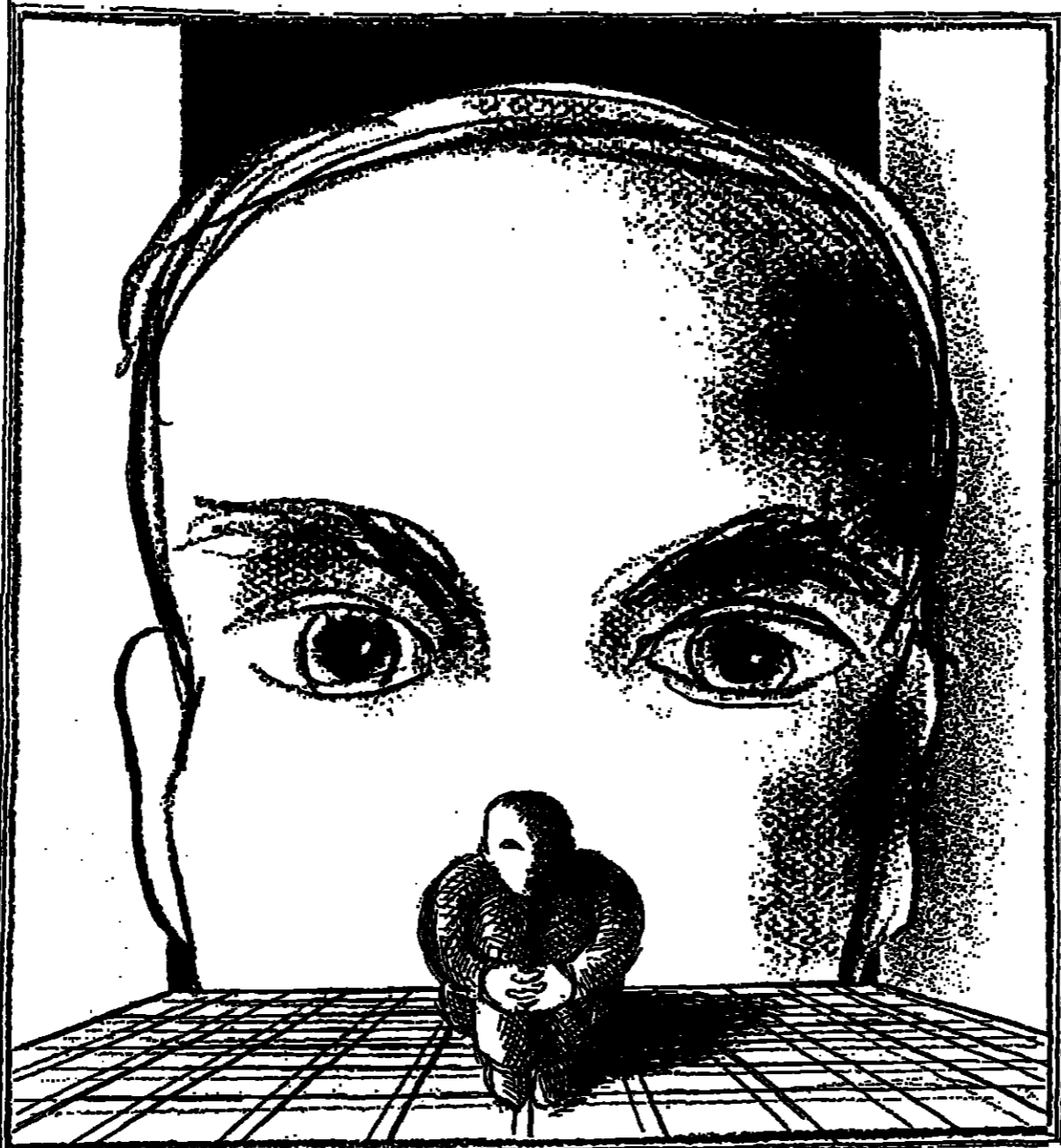
Japan's merchandise trade surplus with other Asian countries has increased almost 800 percent since 1985, from \$8.9 billion to \$70.7 billion. Much of that was Japanese factories moving their equipment to Asia. Sure, Japan's trade surplus with the U.S. is falling, because its companies are now hiding their exports to the U.S. under the labels "Made in Thailand" or "Made in Malaysia."

It's true that Japan is not as innovative as the U.S. in software, and innovation is important. But imitation isn't a bad second, especially if you're not only good at imitation but at improving on the original as well. Rented a car lately? You can get a computerized map on the dashboard that will give you directions, guided by satellite, to wherever you want to go. The U.S. put up that satellite to track ships and planes, but the Japanese adapted the technology for cars.

While Japan shifts production to Asia, it keeps the most complex, high-value-added jobs here. Toyota may make the Camry in Thailand, but it still makes the Lexus in Japan. Where Japanese companies can't innovate, they just buy U.S. companies that can. And with Japanese interest rates at 1 percent, that's not hard.

Japan is changing all right — but not by becoming like us. Japan is simply looking for news ways to remain itself: a country that maintains almost no unemployment at home, by closing its markets to outsiders and focusing the best Japanese companies on exports.

Minoru Makihara, president of Mitsubishi Corporation, remarked to me: "Just as we underestimated the U.S. six years ago, it would be a mistake for the U.S. to underestimate Japan today." Indeed, this is a serious country, with an underlying hardness and determination. The other day in Hiroshima, I toured the epicenter of the 1945 nuclear blast. There's only one building that survived the U.S. A-bomb attack, and that famous building's skeletal remains are still standing to this day. It was the Industrial Promotion Hall.



Andrzej Dudzinski

The Price of Peace in Bosnia

By Misha Glenn

WASHINGTON
We can be thankful that the slaughter in Bosnia has stopped. But we should not fool ourselves. Democracy and justice continue to be trampled in the former Yugoslavia.

In order to silence the guns, the international community has been forced to make a pact with authoritarian leaders, who, having already subjected millions of people to appalling misery, do not yet intend to retire. The Presidents of Serbia, Croatia and now Bosnia argue, unfortunately quite convincingly, that only they have the power to guarantee permanent peace in the northern Balkans.

The latest manifestation of this deal with the devils has been the disgraceful ruling by Serbia's Supreme Court to allow the Government to shut down the Soros Yugoslavia Foundation in Belgrade. The court cited a legal technicality, but this cannot disguise the cynical political maneuvering of the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, who is behind the closure.

The foundation has performed heroic work under exceptionally difficult conditions. Above all, it has alleviated the suffering of Serb, Muslim,

An end to the war, and to the dream of a democratic state.

Hungarian and Albanian citizens, many of them refugees, through its humanitarian work. These people will be the principle victims of the court's decision, and considerable pressure should be applied on the Serbian Government to reverse it.

But the move is indicative of a broader process unfolding in Serbia, Croatia and the two constituent parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As peace takes hold in Bosnia and Croatia, the ruling political parties are tightening their grip on power by suffocating any internal opposition.

The assault on the Soros foundation was preceded by the Serbian Government's takeover of Belgrade's only independent television station. Studio B has been an invaluable source of information in the capital, given the crude political control exercised by the authorities over state TV. But such noxious practices are by no means a preserve of the Serbs.

A few weeks ago, the Bosnian Government denied Sarajevo's most influential independent radio station, Radio 99, the right to establish a television station. This means that President Alija Izetbegovic's Party for Democratic Action will enjoy an enormous advantage over Bosnia's nascent multi-ethnic opposition when nationwide elections are held, probably in September. The former Bosnian Prime Minister, Haris Silajdzic, warns that the President wishes to turn Bosnia into a one-party state. Without an effective medium to

Misha Glenn, a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Center, is writing a book on Balkan nationalism.

spread its message, Bosnia's numerically weak but committed opposition will not be able to prevent his authoritarian domination.

As for Croatia, in the past two months the President, Franjo Tudjman, has twice vetoed the nominee for mayor of Zagreb proposed by the democratically elected City Council, which fell into the hands of the opposition last year. It now looks as if the President may call new City Council elections in order to try to extract this thorn from the flesh of his political power.

The Balkan leaders view the Dayton peace agreement as a means to consolidate their political control. Ethnic separation makes this much easier. Just look at the latest population exchange within Bosnia: The Serbs are voluntarily moving out of Sarajevo suburbs being handed back to the Bosnian Government.

Thousands of civilians have been encouraged to leave by both sides. The Government in Sarajevo was deliberately slow to assure the Serbs that it would be safe to stay. The authorities in Pale, the capital of the Serbian entity in Bosnia, incited the mass exodus by claiming that Serbs in the Sarajevo suburbs would be victimized by the Bosnian police force.

In the words of one European diplomat quoted on Wednesday: "What we seem to have on the ground is a growing tendency for each ethnic group to withdraw into its own space. That is what we are seeing in Sarajevo."

This suggests that the three sides have agreed among themselves to the principle of partition. To the West, they offer an end (perhaps only temporary) to the nightmare of war in the Balkans. But in exchange the leaders demand the right to establish virtually complete, undemocratic control of their own constituencies.

When the Implementation Force, led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, leaves Bosnia in December, the ultimate source of authority will rest with the three indigenous armies, each associated with a particular national group and a particular political party. Should the various local governments have their undemocratic way, as is almost certain, it will be impossible to secure the safe return of refugees.

Yet the international community considers repatriation a cornerstone of the Dayton agreement. Sacrificing the principle of ethnic reintegration, however, is probably the price the West will have to pay if it wants an end to armed conflict.

In that case, the West will have a duty to make it plain to all refugees that they must abandon any hope of going home in the short term. For Dayton raised the expectations among the blighted, traumatized people of Bosnia that they might be

able to go back.

Indeed, since the Implementation Force has made it fairly clear that it is not in the business of arresting indicted war criminals, we can be certain that it has neither the military resources (given its December pullout date) nor the political will to provide security guarantees for the return of the refugees.

It is time for the United States and Europe to admit that while Dayton might deliver a precious peace, democracy and justice have been clubbed on the back of the head. □

Playing the Catholic card.

clarity he learned at Gonzaga, a Jesuit high school, in the 50's. "There was right and there was wrong," he said, "and you knew it."

Bay Buchanan, the candidate's sister and campaign manager, decided this week to play the Catholic card, charging Ted Koppel with "anti-Catholic bigotry." She said that a "Nightline" on Mr. Buchanan's upbringing had revealed "the dark soul of ABC News." "Its entirety was an

endless slander against my brother Pat, my family and our faith," said Ms. Buchanan, a Mormon.

In The Washington Post, she offered an ingenious bit of reasoning on why Mr. Koppel was unfair to do an off-camera interview with a Jewish neighbor who remembered being called a "Christ-killer" and beaten up by some of Pat's younger brothers.

The Buchanans, she protested, were not anti-Semitic because they believed in equal-opportunity bullying: "They beat up everyone."

At a time when the Pope's tour does better than Lollapalooza, and when President Clinton is pushing so hard on school uniforms and the V-chip he might be running for Catholic school principal, the Buchanans can not really be that worried about anti-Catholic bigotry.

They are simply doing what they do best, practicing the politics of grievance.

If the media want to suggest that Mr. Buchanan uses code words and innuendos as a way of exciting bigots and militia types and xenophobes, if the media want to say that his defense of the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie" and The Citadel's maleness is intended as a signal to certain voters, the Buchanans know how to fight back. They use their old specialty, the sucker punch, tarring the media establishment as anti-Catholic.

Mr. Buchanan ignores the Pope's opposition to immigration restrictions, and he uses his faith for dramatic effect. Though Catholics long ago reconciled evolution and religion, Mr. Buchanan recently played William Jennings Bryan with Sam Donaldson: "Sam, you may believe you're descended from monkeys... I think you're a creature of God."

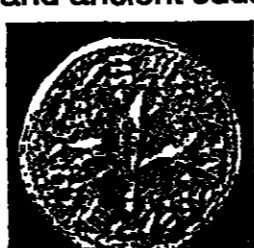
Father Robert Drinan of Georgetown, the Jesuit university attended by Mr. Buchanan and President Clinton, noted impatiently: "Catholics are free to believe in evolution, and to believe that God intervened to make us men. The Jesuits didn't give him all this baloney."

William Bennett, who also went to Gonzaga, says that Mr. Buchanan did not pick up the politics of resentment there. "Our motto was Men for Others," he said. "We were taught service to others. Pat has made a very strange inversion of that — he's scapegoating other people. This stuff Buchanan says was not in our holy water."

There is anti-Catholicism in America. But you don't have to be anti-Catholic to be anti-Buchanan. □

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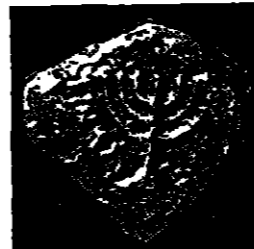
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CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

- ACROSS: 1 Solar ray? (7), 5 Floats about at mouth of Messey? (7), 9 Drive back from Winder- mere, petting? (5), 10 Like the philosopher he thought he was? (5), 11 Post giving merit to the ordinary things we say (10), 12 Top player said to give in (4), 14 Predominates, perhaps, like one mimicked (12), 16 The edge of Wimbledon, love us, is superior! (12), 21 Sound from "Animal Farm", Orwell's first writing material (4), 22 Smash price-motto of rival in business (10), 25 Kind of defence not recommended for prison-building? (9), 26 Spillage of paint is unavailing (5), 27 Opening in shelter for one who gets a gift by will (7), 28 Substance or spirit of the French motorist? (7), DOWN: 1 Cross woman with design leader? That is astute! (6), 2 Table-linen in northern primate's home? (6), 3 Mustering strangely silent soldiers onto square (10), 4 Virile, some say, to use speed of sound approaching round roundabout? (5), 5 Front part smack into trailer (9), 6 Frank old writer (4), 7 Dagger in the heel (8), 8 These characters have sums taken from them (8), 13 Big banker experiments with commercial enterprises (10), 15 Extravagant garnish (9), 16 Wake up in California, a musical? (8), 17 Plainchant service? (8), 19 Family tax (6), 20 Squirm painfully and wither, possibly (6), 23 Vibration felt in a peashooter (5), 24 County no longer known (4).

Crossword grid with numbers 1-28.

QUICK CROSSWORD: ACROSS: 1 River of France (5), 4 Love affair (5), 10 Ambassador's home (7), 11 Keepsake (5), 12 Stronghold (5), 13 Neck of land (7), 15 Notion (4), 17 Elegance (5), 19 Greek island (5), 22 Cook in oven (4), 24 Bedden (5), 30 Lockjaw (7), 31 Aquatic mammal (5), 32 Fragrance (5). DOWN: 2 Arm joint (5), 3 Breathing-space? (5), 5 Choral work (5), 6 Bedraggled (7), 7 Root in ship (5), 8 Eagle's nest (5), 9 Grind teeth (5), 14 Plunder (4), 16 Liability (4), 18 Anguish (7), 20 Device for producing nuclear energy (7), 21 Baton (5), 22 Main artery (5), 24 Bedden (5), 26 Courage (5), 28 Poison, malice (5).



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ITV 3 (33): 17:00 Cartoons 17:30 Facing Love 18:30 Panoramas with Zaidan Alisha...

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CINEMA: 1-3 = 24853 Dangerous Minds 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 * Seven 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 * The Usual Suspects 9:15 * Father of the Bride II 4:45...

UPPER NAZARETH: G.G. Gil Fair Game * Virtuosos/Sudden Death 7:30, 9:30 * Show Girls/Seven 4:30, 7:15, 9:45...

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